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Meritorious Cannibal: Chang Hsün's Defense of Sui-yang and the Exaltation of Loyalty in an Age of Rebellion

The writing of unofficial biographical accounts of outstanding T'ang loyalists was quite a popular activity among scholar-officials in the years after the An Lu-shan Rebellion (755–763). Among the figures who attracted attention were the great general Kuo Tzu-i 郭子儀, who had scored some of the court's most important military victories, and the civilian governor of Ch'ang-shan 常山 commandery, Yen Kao-ch'ing 顏杲卿, who had led a loyalist uprising against the rebels in Ho-pei 河北.[1] Several major contributions to this flourishing genre were devoted to the memory of one Chang Hsün 張巡, a local official who had perished defending the commandery city of Sui-yang 睢陽 against the rebel forces. Within a few months of his death in 757, Chang became the subject of a one-*chüan* biography by the scholar Li Han 李翰, and in the next generation he attracted the attention of both Han Yü 韓愈, who composed a postface for Li Han's work that contained commentary and supplementary material, and Liu Tsung-yüan 柳宗元, who drafted a stele inscription honoring one of Chang's lieutenants.[2] The continuing interest in Chang Hsün and other loyalists was not simply a matter of private curiosity but also coincided with government policy. In numerous imperial edicts, especially the acts of grace (*she* 赦) issued on such occasions as the performance of the southern suburban rites, a small handful of loyalists, including both Chang Hsün and Kuo Tzu-i, were identified as especially meritorious servants of the dynasty whose descendants were to be honored with special bestowals of office.[3] In both

[1] David McMullen, *State and Scholars in T'ang China* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1988), pp. 192, 194; Charles Hartman, *Han Yü and the T'ang Search for Unity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton U.P., 1986), pp. 141–42.

[2] Han Yü (768-824), "Chang chung-ch'eng chuan hou-hsü" 張中丞傳後敍, in *Han Ch'ang-li chi* 韓昌黎集, Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu edn. (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1967), book 4, *ch.* 13, pp. 4–7; Liu Tsung-yüan (773–819), "Nan Chi-yün pei" 南霽雲碑, in *Ho-tung hsien-sheng chi* 河東先生集 (rpt. Taipei: Kuang-wen, 1968), vol. 1, *ch.* 5, pp. 17b–25b. Li Han's work will be discussed below.

[3] In 779 and 780, Te-tsung's 德宗 court discussed the granting of office to descendants of meritorious ministers from the early years of the dynasty and also "ministers and generals of outstanding merit and accomplishment from the Chih-te period and after who are already deceased," with Chang Hsün and two of his comrades from Sui-yang, Hsü Yüan 許遠 and

official pronouncements and private writings, Chang was presented as a paragon of loyalty, and, with some of the foremost literary stylists of the late T'ang singing his praises, he achieved an enduring posthumous celebrity. In the middle of the ninth century, Tu Mu 杜牧 complained that Chang's name had been passed on to the world while others of equivalent merit had been forgotten.[4] Why was so much attention given to this relatively minor figure?

This paper will explore the significance of Chang Hsün for scholars of the post-rebellion period, and is divided into three parts. The first part offers an overview of Chang's career and his defense of Sui-yang, the second looks at the special circumstances that prompted Li Han to write his *Chang chung-ch'eng chuan* 張中丞傳 ("Biography of the Vice President of the Censorate Chang Hsün"), and the third examines Li's arguments on behalf of Chang and their significance for men living in a world where rebellion and disloyalty had suddenly become commonplace – a world in which many men were forced to make difficult choices that their fathers and grandfathers had never had to face.

From the time that An Lu-shan's 安祿山 army first crossed the Yellow River at the beginning of the twelfth lunar month of the fourteenth year of the T'ien-pao period (corresponding to early January of 756), the rebels' main effort had been directed westward, toward Lo-yang 洛陽 and then Ch'ang-an 長安. At the same time, however, subsidiary rebel forces were soon pushing southward into Ho-nan 河南. One line of advance ran

Nan Chi-yün 南霽雲, included among the latter; see Wang P'u 王溥 (922–982) et al., *T'ang Hui-yao* 唐會要 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1955; hereafter cited as *THY*) 45, pp. 805–7. Te-tsung's Act of Grace of 790 stipulated that one son of each of the three Sui-yang heroes was to be made a "regular official" (*cheng-yüan kuan* 正員官); see Sung Min-ch'iu 宋敏求 (1019–1079), comp., *T'ang ta chao ling chi* 唐大詔令集 (Peking: Commercial Press, 1959; hereafter cited as *TTCLC*) 70, p. 389. This intention was apparently implemented through an edict of 791 which made Chang Hsün's son Ch'ü-ping 去病 magistrate of Ching-yang 涇陽 county (*THY* 45, p. 809). Other acts of grace containing bestowals of office (or, in some cases, eligibility for appointment to office, *ch'u-shen* 出身) for descendants of Chang, Hsü, Nan, Kuo Tzu-i, and Yen Kao-ch'ing were issued in 807, 819, 821, and 875 (*TTCLC* 10, pp. 60, 61; 70, p. 392; and 72, p. 405). In 848, Hsüan-tsung's 宣宗 court sought likenesses of Chang, Hsü, and Nan (among others) to add to the Ling-yen 凌煙 Pavilion, a portrait gallery of meritorious ministers that had been established by T'ai-tsung 太宗 in 643 (*THY* 45, p. 812). For m ore on the Ling-yen Pavilion, see Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光 (1019–1086), *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑒 (Peking: Ku-chi, 1956; hereafter cited as *TCTC*) 196, pp. 6185–86. For more information on the southern suburban rites (*nan chiao* 南郊) and the contents of T'ang acts of grace, see Howard J. Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk: Ritual and Symbol in the Legitimation of the T'ang Dynasty* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1985), pp. 101, 107–8.

[4] Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) et al., *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1975; hereafter cited as *HTS*) 170, p. 5175.

southwestward through Ying-ch'uan 潁川 and Nan-yang 南陽 commanderies to the Han 漢 River valley, while another ran southeastward along the major transportation artery of the Pien 汴 Canal toward the Huai 淮 River and the revenue-rich Lower Yangtze region.[5] The threat to Ho-nan prompted some local officials to throw in their lot with the rebels, while other commandery governors and county magistrates set about mobilizing forces to resist them. Among the latter group was Chang Hsün, the magistrate of Chen-yüan 真源 county in Ch'iao 譙 commandery (near today's Po-hsien 亳縣, Anhwei), who recruited several thousand men locally and then led the best one thousand of them northward to defend the threatened town of Yung-ch'iu 雍丘.[6]

Years later, one acquaintance remembered Chang Hsün as a tall man (more than six feet in height) with an imposing beard and mustache and a formidable memory – such that he was able to recite a text in full, and without error, after having read it only three times.[7] This ability would have served Chang well in his preparation for the *chin-shih* 進士 examination, which he passed in 736, when he was at the age of twenty-eight *sui*.[8] His first recorded assignment in the government service was to the largely ceremonial position of secretarial receptionist in the household of the heir-apparent, after which he was sent out to languish in the provinces as a county magistrate, first of Ch'ing-ho 清河 in Ho-pei, and then of Chen-yüan. It seems that he was not a man who could presume upon his connec-

[5] For early rebel efforts in Ho-nan, see *TCTC* 217, pp. 6937, 6940, 6960–61, and Liu Hsü 劉昫 (887–946) et al., *Chiu T'ang-shu* 舊唐書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1975; hereafter cited as *CTS*) 140, p. 3828.

[6] For Chang Hsün, see *TCTC* 217, p. 6955 (which also mentions the defection of the Yung-ch'iu county magistrate, Ling-hu Ch'ao 令狐潮, to the side of the rebels). For the efforts of other loyalist officials, see *TCTC* 217, pp. 6940 and 6951; *CTS* 76, p. 2653; *HTS* 5, p. 151; and 225A, p. 6418; and Wang Ch'in-jo 王欽若 (962–1025), comp., *Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜 (rpt. Taipei: Taiwan Chung-hua shu-chü, 1967; hereafter cited as *TFYK*) 763, p. 9a.

[7] *Han Ch'ang-li chi*, book 4, *ch.* 13, p. 6. Han Yü received this information from his friend Chang Chi 張籍, who heard it in his youth from one Yü Sung 于嵩, who had known Chang Hsün. This information is also used in the *Hsin T'ang-shu* biography of Chang Hsün; see *HTS* 192, p. 5540.

[8] Hsü Sung 徐松 (1781–1848), *Teng-k'o chi k'ao* 登科記考 (rpt. Taipei: Ching-sheng wen-wu kung-ying kung-ssu, 1972) 8, p. 14b. The first section of the T'ang *chin-shih* examination tested rote knowledge of the Confucian classics; other sections tested composition skills and asked for dissertations on contemporary problems (McMullen, *State and Scholars*, p. 23). Chang also passed the *shu-p'an pa-ts'ui* 書判拔萃 examination – which, unlike the *chin-shih*, led directly to an official appointment – three times (*CTS* 187B, pp. 4899–900; McMullen, pp. 25–26). According to Han Yü's informants, Chang was 49 *sui* at the time of his death in 757, which would mean he was born in 709 (*Han Ch'ang-li chi*, book 4, *ch.* 13, p. 7).

tions, family or otherwise. Though his elder brother once held the low-ranking but highly responsible post of investigating censor, the two appear to have come from an obscure provincial family with no prior tradition of government service. The picture that emerges from Chang's official biographies and certain other sources is of a man of considerable literary talent frustrated in his career advancement because of his refusal to curry favor with powerful figures at court.[9] But we are also told that, as befits a future hero, he was moved by a strong sense of righteousness and justice and was generous to those in distress while showing no mercy toward local bullies and corrupt yamen clerks.[10]

There is no evidence that Chang could claim any prior military experience (or even that he had studied classical military texts such as the *Sun-tzu* 孫子) at the time when he brought his one thousand followers north to Yung-ch'iu, but he quickly displayed a natural aptitude for military command.[11] Yung-ch'iu was the first and most exposed of a string of walled towns that blocked the rebels' advance along the Pien Canal; behind it, to the southeast, were Hsiang-i 襄邑, then Ning-ling 寧陵, then Sui-yang. Incorporating other loyalist detachments into his command, Chang defended Yung-ch'iu from the second lunar month of T'ien-pao 15 (756) until almost the end of the year; during that time he not only repulsed several assaults on the town, but also surprised and routed a rebel army that was trying to bypass him in order to attack Hsiang-i and Ning-ling.[12] In the twelfth month, however, another rebel thrust in the same direction finally compelled Chang to evacuate Yung-ch'iu and move his forces to Ning-ling.[13] Then, before they had had more than a few weeks to settle into their new position, another rebel offensive brought Chang and his men hurrying to assist in the defense of the commandery city of Sui-yang, which lay a few

[9] *HTS* 192, p. 5534; *CTS* 187B, p. 4899. Also see Kao Shih's 高適 sacrificial prayer for Chang Hsün and Hsü Yüan in *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 全唐文 (rpt. Taipei: Ching-wei shu-chü, 1965; hereafter cited as *CTW*) 357, p. 21a. Chang's *Chiu t'ang-shu* biography says that he was a man of P'u-chou 蒲州 in Ho-tung 河東, while *Hsin T'ang-shu* substitutes Nan-yang 南陽 and Teng-chou 鄧州; neither biography (nor any other source I have found) has anything at all to say about his ancestry.

[10] *HTS* 192, pp. 5534–35; *CTS* 187B, p. 4900.

[11] *HTS* 192, p. 5534 does tell us that Chang was quite knowledgeable about the techniques of deploying military formations, but doesn't indicate when or how he acquired this knowledge.

[12] *TCTC* 217, p. 6956, 218, pp. 6988 and 6992–93, 219, p. 7007.

[13] *TCTC* 219, p. 7010; *HTS* 192, p. 5537. Some sources (such as *CTS* 187B, p. 4900) indicate that supply problems contributed to Chang's decision to withdraw from Yung-ch'iu.

miles south of today's Shang-ch'iu 商丘, Honan.[14]

The arrival of Chang's forces brought the garrison of the threatened city to 6,800 men, and Hsü Yüan 許遠, the governor of Sui-yang, voluntarily yielded his command authority to Chang. The rebels made their first attack on Sui-yang in the first lunar month of Chih-te 2 (757), were repulsed, went away, and then returned in the third month to subject the city to a siege which apparently lasted until some time in the fifth month.[15] After another breathing space, the rebels returned once more to the assault on the sixth day of the seventh month. From that time on, they maintained a tight encirclement of Sui-yang and kept the defenders under constant pressure until the city finally fell to assault on the ninth day of the nineteenth lunar month of Chih-te 2 (November 24, 757). Chang Hsün was taken and put to death by the rebels. He had directed the defense of Sui-yang for approximately ten months, and the final siege had lasted 122 days.[16] If Chang had been able to hold out a few days longer he would have survived, since a relieving army drawn from the T'ang forces along the Huai River arrived on the scene only three days after the city fell.[17]

Having given his life in the service of the dynasty, Chang should have been in line to receive some of the posthumous honors that the T'ang rulers customarily bestowed upon their loyal servants. He would not have been eligible for a canonization title, since these were reserved for officials of the third rank and above and Chang had never risen higher than the fifth rank, but a posthumous office for the dead hero and enfeoffments and other rewards for his offspring might have been expected.[18] There was,

[14] *TCTC* 219, p. 7016.

[15] *TCTC* 219, pp. 7016, 7022, 7025.

[16] *TCTC* 219, pp. 7027–28, 220, p. 7038.

[17] *TCTC* 220, p. 7039; *CTS* 111, p. 3327. The main T'ang field army, advancing eastward from T'ung-kuan 潼關, recovered Lo-yang from the rebels on the 18th day of the 10th lunar month of Chih-te 2 (December 3, 757).

[18] For the T'ang system of posthumous status, see McMullen, *State and Scholars*, pp. 11 and 251, and *THY* 79, p. 1455. T'ang officials were classified on a scale of nine ranks subdivided into thirty classes. As county magistrate of Chen-yüan, Chang Hsün's rank ought to have been 6b1 since Chen-yüan had been designated as an "honored" (*wang* 望) county; see *HTS* 38, p. 990, and Robert des Rotours, trans., *Traité des fonctionnaires et traité de l'armée* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1948), vol. 2, pp. 730–733, especially n. 3 on p. 731. During the siege of Sui-yang, sometime between the first and fifth lunar months of Chih-te 2 (757), he was made vice-president of the Censorate (*yü-shih chung-ch'eng* 御史中丞; rank 5a) in recognition of his merit, but since he was unable to exercise the duties of his office this was clearly a nominal appointment intended to enhance the prestige and authority of the recipient. For

however, one small problem: After the relieving army reached Sui-yang, it was discovered that the defenders had resorted to cannibalism in order to prolong their heroic resistance. This in itself might not have been particularly surprising or shocking, since cannibalism practised by the desperate for the purpose of survival had long been associated with both sieges and famines in the Chinese historical memory. Any competent T'ang scholar could have repeated the words of the Sung 宋 emmissary to the Ch'u 楚 army that was besieging the Sung capital in 593 BC, as recorded in the *Tso-chuan* 左傳: "In the city we are exchanging our children and eating them, and splitting up their bones for fuel."[19] What made the horror at Sui-yang noteworthy was that this had not been a case of furtive, sporadic consumption of human flesh by desperate individuals, but an organized and systematic logistical operation carried out by the soldiers of the garrison in obedience to Chang Hsün's commands.

Grain supplies in the city were already low when the rebels laid siege to Sui-yang on the sixth day of the seventh lunar month of Chih-te 2 (July 26, 757), and before long the defenders had to be issued greatly reduced grain rations, which they supplemented with paper, tree bark, and tea leaves. When all of the horses had been slaughtered and eaten, the soldiers turned their attention to the rats and birds. When there was nothing else left to eat, Chang had them turn on the civilian population within the city. They killed and ate all of the women first, and when there were no women

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mention of the appointment, see *HTS* 192, p. 5537, and *CTS* 187B, p. 4900. For more information on the T'ang system of bureaucratic rank, see Ts'en Chung-mien 岑仲勉, "The T'ang System of Bureaucratic Titles and Grades," trans. Penelope Herbert, *T'ang Studies* 5 (1987), pp. 25–31.

[19] Duke Hsüan 宣, 15th year, as translated by James Legge in *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5: *The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen* (rpt. Taipei: Southern Materials Center, 1985), p. 328. This episode provided the standard eight-character expression that Chinese writers often used to suggest the privation and desperation of people subjected to a prolonged siege (易子而食析骸以爨). For other examples of the occurrence of cannibalism under siege conditions, see Robert des Rotours, "Quelques notes sur l'anthropophagie en Chine," *TP* 50 (1963), pp. 394, 411, and "Encore quelques notes sur l'anthropophagie en Chine," *TP* 54 (1968), pp. 27–30. The second article is essentially a summary of Kuwabara Jitsuzō 桑原騭藏, "Shinajin kan keru shoku jinniku no fūshū" 支那人間に於ける食人肉の風習. Kuwabara's article, originally published in *TYGH* (Tokyo) 14 (1924), can also be found in *Kuwabara Jitsuzō zenshū* 全集 (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1968–69), vol. 2, pp. 153–205. Kuwabara (p. 183) suggests that most Chinese did not find Chang's actions particularly shocking or inhumane. It seems to me that the reaction to what Chang did – both the initial criticisms *and* the extravagant praise lavished upon him by his supporters – indicates precisely the opposite; in order to salvage his reputation, his supporters found it necessary to produce some very strong arguments (see below).

left, they moved on to the old men and young boys.[20] Most accounts of the siege claim that the number of victims eventually ran into the tens of thousands.[21]

Organized mass cannibalism of this sort was not entirely unheard of in T'ang times. Many of the scholar-officials who heard reports of what had happened at Sui-yang would have been aware of the case of Chu Ts'an 朱粲, an anti-Sui rebel leader who had dominated extensive territories in the Han River valley at the time that the T'ang dynasty was founded. According to the T'ang official historians, Chu made cannibalism the basis of his army's logistical system, forcing communities under his control to contribute women and children in order to feed the troops. He was allegedly quite unashamed of his methods. "As long as there are still people in the other states," he is supposed to have boasted, "what have we to worry about?"[22] Whether Chu Ts'an was really as wicked as this is perhaps open to question, but there can be no doubt that the charge of deliberate, large-scale cannibalism is yet another atrocity pinned on a vile, degenerate rebel by the official historian in order to underline his vileness and degeneracy. This sort of behavior was associated with rebels and was considered worthy of the severest censure.[23] It presented something of a problem,

[20] *TCTC* 219, pp. 7027–28, 220, p. 7038; also *HTS* 192, p. 5540, *CTS* 187B, p. 4901, and *TFYK* 763, p. 10a. It is not clear exactly when in the course of the siege the defenders turned to cannibalism. In his sacrificial prayer for Chang Hsün, Kao Shih tactfully avoids direct references to cannibalism but states that the defenders were without grain for several *hsün*, or ten-day weeks (*CTW* 357, p. 21b), and Ssu-ma Kuang places the first mention of it at a very late stage in the siege (*TCTC* 220, p. 7038). On the other hand, if the writings of Han Yü and Liu Tsung-yüan accurately represent the words of Chang Hsün's lieutenant Nan Chi-yün, who was sent out to bring help from T'ang forces on the Huai River well before the end of the 8th lunar month, the killing and consumption of humans must have started in the 7th month. See *Han Ch'ang-li chi*, book 4, *ch.* 13, p. 6, and *Ho-tung hsien-sheng chi*, vol. 1, *ch.* 5, p. 21a. For the date of Nan's return to Sui-yang, see *TCTC* 219, pp. 7029–30.

[21] *CTS* 187B, p. 4901 and *TFYK* 400, p. 13b, say 20–30,000; *HTS* 192, p. 5540, says 30,000; *TFYK* 763, p. 10a, says 40–50,000. These large numbers are of course open to question, if only on the grounds that whatever food supplies there were in the city would have gone to the combatants on a priority basis – so that a great many of the civilian inhabitants of Sui-yang would presumably already have died of starvation or fallen victim to "unofficial" cannibalism by the time that the garrison began to eat human flesh. There may have been as many as 60,000 people within the walls of Sui-yang when the siege began (*HTS* 192, p. 5541).

[22] See Chu Ts'an's biography in *CTS* 56, pp. 2275–76, translated by des Rotours in "Quelques notes sur l'anthropophagie en Chine," pp. 404–9.

[23] The association of cannibalism, logistics, and rebels appears again in accounts of the Huang Ch'ao 黃巢 rebellion at the end of the T'ang; see *TCTC* 255, p. 8296 and 256, p. 8318. Des Rotours argues that "the literati deplored cases of cannibalism and wanted all

therefore, when a loyal and otherwise unimpeachably meritorious servant of the imperial court was found to have had recourse to similar methods.

When the Ho-nan military governor (*chieh-tu shih* 節度使) Chang Hao 張鎬, who had directed the effort to relieve Sui-yang, had his friend Hsiao Hsin 蕭昕 (then a grand secretary) draft a eulogy of Chang Hsün's conduct, some officials at court raised objections. They condemned Chang's cannibalism, and maintained that it would have been better for him to have evacuated Sui-yang than to have eaten the people entrusted to his care.[24] A group of seven younger scholars, however, spoke out in Chang's defense. Their names are recorded in the *Hsin T'ang-shu*: Chang Tan 張澹, Li Hsü 李紓, Tung Nan-shih 董南史, Chang Chien-feng 張建封, Fan Huang 樊晃, Chu Chü-ch'uan 朱巨川, and Li Han.[25] Biographical information for all of these men is scanty, but they seem to have been scholars in their twenties and thirties holding relatively low-ranking official positions, men whose claim to distinction rested on literary talent rather than bureaucratic clout. Chu Chü-ch'uan, for example, was born in 725 and passed the *ming-ching* 明經 examination at a tender age in 741, while Li Hsü, born in 731, held the low-ranking but prestigious office of editor in the Palace Library, a plum position for young men of outstanding literary ability.[26] Chu and Li both enjoyed the patronage of a more senior scholar-official, Li Hua 李華 (ca. 710–ca. 767), who also happened to be the father of Li Han.[27] The arguments of this group are supposed to have silenced the opposition, with the result that Chang Hsün was included in the list of loyal martyrs who received posthumous offices by the Act of Grace which the emperor Su-tsung 肅宗 proclaimed on the fifteenth day of the twelfth

possible measures to be taken to prevent it." ("Quelques notes sur l'anthropophagie en Chine," p. 413.)

[24] *HTS* 192, pp. 5540–41; *TCTC* 220, p. 7047. Also see Li Han's memorial in Yao Hsüan 姚鉉 (968–1020), comp., *T'ang wen ts'ui* 唐文萃 (SPTK edn.; hereafter cited as *TWT*) 25, p. 10b.

[25] *HTS* 192, p. 5541.

[26] For Chu Chü-ch'uan, see *Teng-k'o chi k'ao* 8, p. 30b; for Li Hsü, see *CTS* 137, p. 3763. Chang Chien-feng (735–800) served on the staffs of provincial officials during the reign of Tai-tsung 代宗; it is not clear what post he held in 757 (*CTS* 140, pp. 3829–30). For Li Han, who belonged to the same cohort, see below. I have not been able to find any information on Chang Tan, Tung Nan-shih, or Fan Huang.

[27] For Li Hua, see *HTS* 203, p. 5776, *CTS* 190C, p. 5047, and McMullen, *State and Scholars*, pp. 62, 106. He seems to have held the post of omissioner of the right (*yu pu-ch'üeh* 右補闕; rank 7b1) at the beginning of the An Lu-shan Rebellion. According to *HTS* 203, p. 5776, Li Han was Li Hua's eldest son (*tsung-tzu* 宗子). It is also worth noting that Li Hsü and Li Han were third cousins and members of the aristocratic Chao-chün 趙郡 Li family (*HTS* 72A, pp. 2480–81; 203, pp. 5776 and 5778; *CTS* 137, p. 3763; *Teng-k'o chi k'ao* 27, p. 5b).

lunar month of Chih-te 2 (January 28, 758).[28]

The only one of Chang's supporters whose arguments have survived is Li Han.[29] It is not clear what official position, if any, he held in 757, nor which year it was that he passed the *chin-shih* examination. He later held the positions of omissioner of the left (*tso pu-ch'üeh* 左補闕, a remonstrance office under the Chancellery) and Han-lin scholar, and it seems that he died in retirement in Ho-nan sometime around 770.[30] Li's reason for coming to the defense of Chang Hsün was apparently concern for the reputation of a friend; Li's biographies in both T'ang histories tell us that the two men were close, and Li himself wrote that he had associated with Chang in his youth.[31] As part of his effort to clear his dead friend's name, he wrote a one-*chüan* biography of Chang Hsün in the eleventh or twelfth lunar month of Chih-te 2 (December 757 or January 758) and presented it to the throne with an accompanying memorial not long after the Act of Grace was proclaimed in the middle of the twelfth month.[32]

While Li Han's *Chang chung-ch'eng chuan* no longer survives as an integral work, it almost certainly served as the single most important source for both the biography of Chang Hsün in the *Hsin T'ang-shu* and Ssu-ma Kuang's account of the sieges of Yung-ch'iu and Sui-yang in the *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*. Ssu-ma Kuang's critical examination of discrepancies between his sources, the *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien k'ao-i*, offers only a few brief

[28] *TCTC* 220, pp. 7045–47. Chang was made governor-general (*ta tu-tu* 大都督) of Yang-chou 揚州 (*HTS* 192, p. 5541).

[29] The only texts that survive are in Li's name, but his memorial in defense of Chang Hsün may include arguments originally put forward by one or another of his six allies; for a report to this effect, see Li Chao 李肇 (d. 836?), *T'ang kuo-shih pu* 唐國史補 (SKCS edn.) 1, pp. 6b–7a.

[30] *CTS* 190C, p. 5049; *HTS* 203, p. 5777; McMullen, *State and Scholars*, p. 181.

[31] *TWT* 25, p. 11b.

[32] The memorial indicates that Chang Hsün has recently received the posthumous office of Yang-chou governor-general, but Li Han feels that this is not enough and goes on to ask for (1) a one hundred household fief of maintenance for Chang's son, (2) funeral services to be held for Chang and his men at Sui-yang, and (3) the rehabilitation of Chang's good name more generally – to be achieved by making Li's account of Chang's life the basis for an official biography in the dynastic history. See *TWT* 25, pp. 10a–12a.

At about the same time, Li Han also presented a biography of another loyal official, Yao Yin 姚閏, the magistrate of Ch'eng-fu 城父 county in Ch'iao commandery, who perished together with Chang Hsün when Sui-yang fell to the rebels; see *CTS* 190C, p. 5049. The bibliographical monograph of the *Hsin T'ang-shu* records the two biographies as a single work, the *Chang Hsün Yao Yin chuan* 張巡姚閏傳 in two *chüan* (*HTS* 58, p. 1484).

quotes from the *Chang chung-ch'eng chuan*, but his comments – and a comparison of these quoted passages with their counterparts in the *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* – suggest that Li Han's work provided the Sung historian with his main source of material on Chang Hsün. Ssu-ma Kuang's account of the loyalist coup at Yung-ch'iu in the second lunar month of T'ien-pao 15 (756), for example, follows the *Chang chung-ch'eng chuan* rather than Chang's *Chiu T'ang-shu* biography and the Veritable Records (*shih-lu* 實錄) of Su-tsung's reign.[33] The *Hsin T'ang-shu* biography of Chang Hsün, far more extensive than its *Chiu T'ang-shu* counterpart, very closely parallels the *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*'s account of Chang's deeds and contains some passages which the *K'ao-i* identifies as quotes from the *Chang chung-ch'eng chuan*.[34] It is quite likely, therefore, that any material found in these accounts which cannot be traced to another source (such as Han Yü's postface) derives from the work of Li Han. Though we can seldom be entirely sure that any given passage in the *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* or the *Hsin T'ang-shu* is borrowed from Li Han, there is good reason to believe that their accounts do reflect the picture of his friend that Li wished to bequeath to posterity, while Li's memorial, which does survive, clearly sets out the arguments that he employed to save Chang's reputation.[35] Taken together, the contents of the memorial and the biographical materials go a long way toward explaining the appeal of Chang Hsün to scholar-officials of the post-rebellion period.

Since what had happened at Sui-yang was too well established for Li Han to ignore or deny the fact that it had happened, he had to confront the condemnation of Chang's cannibalism directly. In his memorial to Su-tsung, he offered three major arguments as to why the late defender of Sui-yang was deserving of praise rather than censure.[36] One line of defense was that it had not been Chang's original intention to consume human flesh at the time that he began the defense of Sui-yang; rather, he was

[33] *TCTC* 217, pp. 6955–56. Also see the *K'ao-i* entries on *TCTC* 218, p. 6989; and 219, p. 7029.

[34] Compare *TCTC* 218, p. 6989, with *HTS* 192, pp. 5535 and 5536.

[35] The memorial is quoted in full in *TWT* 25, pp. 10a–12a, while an abridged and emended version can be found in Li Han's *Hsin T'ang-shu* biography (*HTS* 203, pp. 5777–78).

[36] The reader should be aware that the following concise summary of the major points of Li Han's memorial does not follow the complex structure of the original text, nor does it include what seem to me to be less important arguments (as, for example, that it was the practice of Confucius in editing the *Spring and Autumn Annals* to be more liberal in bestowing praise than blame).

driven to it as a desperate expedient, a last resort, when other T'ang forces failed to rescue him. The blame, Li implied, properly lay with the other T'ang commanders in the area (and possibly even with the court itself) rather than with Chang, who had merely been doing his duty.

But whatever Chang's intention had been, his contribution to the T'ang victory was enormous since, Li claimed, his stubborn and prolonged defense had kept the rebels out of the Huai River valley and the Lower Yangtze region: "Without Hsün we would have been without Sui-yang, and without Sui-yang we would have been without Chiang-Huai 江淮. If the rebels had been able to avail themselves of the resources of Chiang-Huai, their troops would have been all the more numerous, their funds all the more plentiful."[37] Even if it had been Chang's intention from the very start to engage in cannibalism, Li maintained, his military accomplishment was so great that the merit and the fault would still have cancelled each other out.[38]

Li's third argument had to do with the didactic significance of Chang Hsün, or, more precisely, the message that would be sent by the court's treatment of his case. Loyalty, Li asserted, was the single, essential precept that the minister must follow, and the fact that Chang had remained loyal to the death demonstrated that his education was not deficient in this respect. If Chang were praised and rewarded it would encourage others to behave in the same exemplary fashion; to condemn Chang, on the other hand, would be tantamount to condemning loyalty itself – it would "repress good and encourage evil." Lest there be any doubt what he meant by the evil that would be encouraged, Li specifically mentioned the "high officials, generals and ministers" who "rubbed shoulders with one another

[37] *TWT* 25, p. 11a. The view that it was Chang's efforts that had kept Chiang-Huai safe seems to have been accepted at court even before Li Han submitted his memorial, as is implied by the fact that Chang had received the posthumous title of governor-general of Yang-chou, the metropolis of the Lower Yangtze region. The conventional wisdom did not change thereafter; see Ssu-ma Kuang's *K'ao-i* comment in *TCTC* 220, p. 7038, and the encomium for Chang Hsün in *HTS* 192, p. 5544. Liu Tsung-yüan went even farther, claiming that the diversion of rebel forces to overcome the defenders of Sui-yang had made it possible for the imperial commanders in the Northwest to win their decisive victories over the rebels in the 9th and 10th lunar months of Chih-te 2 (*Ho-tung hsien-sheng chi*, vol. 1, *ch*. 5, pp. 23a–b). Whether everything really hinged on Chang's defense is open to question, since there were also significant T'ang forces at P'eng-ch'eng 彭城, Ch'iao commandery, and Lin-huai 臨淮 that the rebels would have had to deal with before they could have crossed the Huai River (*TCTC* 219, p. 7029).

[38] *TWT* 25, p. 11a.

following the perverse rebels" – in contrast to Chang Hsün, who "did his utmost without regard for his own safety and died upholding his integrity" (*fen shen ssu chieh* 奮身死節).[39]

At the end of the second year of Chih-te, when Li Han was writing, loyalty was anything but an academic issue for T'ang scholar-officials. For decades – indeed, for generations if we discount Wu Tse-t'ien's 武則天 short-lived Chou 周 dynasty – loyalty to the T'ang was something that had been pretty much taken for granted, something that had never really been put to the test. The Li-T'ang dynastic enterprise had been the only real focus for men's loyalty, until the outbreak of the An Lu-shan Rebellion shattered that old, safe, comfortable world in the space of a few weeks. Many commandery governors and county magistrates who found themselves in the path of An Lu-shan's advance threw in their lot with the rebels, and when the capital cities of Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an fell, large numbers of T'ang officials were suddenly faced with the choice of collaboration or death. A few, like Lu I 盧奕, the vice-president of the Censorate at Lo-yang, chose death, but many others opted for collaboration and entered the service of An Lu-shan's newly-proclaimed "Yen 燕 dynasty."[40] Some managed to avoid the choice entirely by taking refuge in flight, but this too could carry a high price: After An Lu-shan took Ch'ang-an in the summer of 756, he exterminated the kinsmen of those officials who had followed the emperor Hsüan-tsung 玄宗 into exile in Szechwan. Such was the desperation of the times that even the imperial family was unable to protect its own, and many princesses, concubines, and imperial in-laws were left behind to be slaughtered when Ch'ang-an fell.[41]

There is considerable evidence that many of those officials who collaborated with the rebels did so not simply because they wanted to preserve their own lives, but because they wanted to protect their families from harm, and that many officials who could have escaped fell into the hands of the rebels because they were unwilling to abandon their wives and

[39] *TWT* 25, pp. 10b–11a.

[40] Chang Hsün's opponent at Yung-ch'iu, Ling-hu Ch'ao, was a T'ang county magistrate who had gone over to the rebels (*TCTC* 217, p. 6955); for other examples, see *TCTC* 217, p. 6940. For officials forced to serve in the rebel administration, see Edwin G. Pulleyblank, "Neo-Confucianism and Neo-Legalism in T'ang Intellectual Life, 755–805," in Arthur F. Wright, ed., *The Confucian Persuasion* (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford U.P., 1960), pp. 80, 83. For Lu I, see *CTS* 187B, pp. 4893–94.

[41] *HTS* 225A, p. 6420. Even a person as prominent as the mother of the future emperor Te-tsung disappeared without a trace during the rebellion (*CTS* 52, p. 2188).

children in order to make a quick getaway. When questions were raised regarding the canonization of the martyred censor Lu I, for example, the erudit Tu-ku Chi 獨孤及 responded that the "officeholders all sought to save their lives and keep their wives and children safe." Some fled and some cooperated with the rebels, he said, but only Lu I had died upholding his integrity.[42] And in an edict of the first lunar month of Chih-te 2 (757) aimed at encouraging the renegades to return to their original allegiance, Su-tsung noted that many officials had been unable to escape from the rebels because of the "encumbrance of wives and children."[43] The vicissitudes of the rebellion forced many officials to choose between family and dynasty, as Li Han must surely have been aware. His own father, Li Hua, a prominent official and literary figure, had been captured by the rebels when he had gone to Ho-pei to rescue his mother (Li Han's grandmother), and had been forced to serve as a grand secretary in their administration.[44]

Li Han's friend Chang Hsün, on the other hand, was portrayed as a man who knew no such weakness. His wife and children, to be sure, were not present during the crisis at Sui-yang,[45] but accounts of the siege in the *Hsin T'ang-shu* and elsewhere – accounts that probably derive from Li's *Chang chung-ch'eng chuan* – have Chang making an analogous sacrifice. When the hero turned to cannibalism, we are told, the first person killed to feed the troops was his own "beloved concubine." He brought her out and addressed the men, saying, "You men have lacked food for a long time, yet your loyalty has not faltered in the least. I regret that I can't cut off my own flesh to feed you, but how could I watch the troops go hungry for the sake of a single concubine?" His speech done, he killed her and offered her as a feast to the soldiers. Those present all wept, but he insisted that they eat her nevertheless.[46] The sources have very little to say about how Chang's con-

[42] *CTS* 187B, p. 4894. The historian's comment at the end of chapter 111 of the *Chiu T'ang-shu* is also relevant: When An Lu-shan took the two capitals, many scholars were coerced into serving him; "those who destroyed their families for the sake of the state were very few" (*CTS* 111, p. 3332).

[43] *TTCLC* 118, p. 617.

[44] For Li Hua, see *HTS* 203, pp. 5775–76, and Pulleyblank, "Neo-Confucianism and Neo-Legalism," p. 85.

[45] Chang's wife was given one hundred rolls of silk and the title of Shen-kuo *fu-jen* 申國夫人, and his sons Ya-fu 亞夫 and Ch'ü-ping owed their incomes and official positions to their father's exploits (*HTS* 192, p. 5541).

[46] This is from *HTS* 192, p. 5538. Also see *CTS* 187B, pp. 4900–1, and *TFYK* 763, p. 10a;

cubine and all of the other victims viewed their fate, but there is some language to suggest that we are supposed to believe that they were willing to sacrifice themselves for the T'ang cause without protest: "Altogether thirty thousand people were eaten. The people knew that they were going to die, but there were none who rebelled. When the city fell, there were no more than four hundred left alive."[47] After reading the accounts of the horrors at Sui-yang, it is difficult not to come away with the impression that their authors attached more importance to the sacrifice made by the leaders who "ate the flesh of those they loved" than to the suffering of those who were eaten.[48]

The sorts of ethical dilemmas faced by Chang Hsün and Li Hua did not disappear with the end of the great rebellion in 763. The emergence of autonomous and often recalcitrant military provinces in the most populous regions of the empire meant that the authority of the T'ang court could never again be taken for granted. Open rebellion was a not infrequent occurrence, and sometimes, as in the case of the rebellion of the Ho-pei warlords in the early 780s, could be on a large enough scale to threaten the survival of the dynasty.[49] From the outbreak of An Lu-shan's rebellion in 755 to the very last day of the T'ang dynasty in 907, disloyalty was a fact of life and rebellion a constant threat. Given these circumstances, it is not surprising that the court, in one imperial act of grace after another, should point to the outstanding loyalists of bygone days as models for officials of the present age, nor is it surprising that, in their unofficial writings, scholar-

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and 400, p. 13a. *TCTC* 220 (p. 7038) cuts the speech and reduces the account of this episode to a bare minimum.

Chang's killing of his concubine may well be a complete fabrication on the part of Li Han. The *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 and the *San-kuo chih* 三國志 tell us that in 195 AD a commander named Tsang Hung 臧洪 was besieged at Tung-chün 東郡 by the warlord Yüan Shao 袁紹. When food ran out, Tsang killed his concubine to feed the troops. The description of Chang Hsün's deed in the *Hsin T'ang-shu* closely mirrors the account of this late Han episode found in the two earlier histories. See Fan Yeh 范曄 (398–445), *Hou Han shu* (Peking: Chung-hua, 1965) 58, p. 1891, and Ch'en Shou 陳壽 (233–297), *San-kuo chih* (Peking: Chung-hua, 1959) 7, p. 236.

[47] *HTS* 192, p. 5540.

[48] Han Yü, for example, takes the fact that Chang's comrade Hsü Yüan "ate the flesh of those he loved" as evidence of his loyalty, devotion, and courage (*Han Ch'ang-li chi*, book 4, *ch.* 13, p. 5).

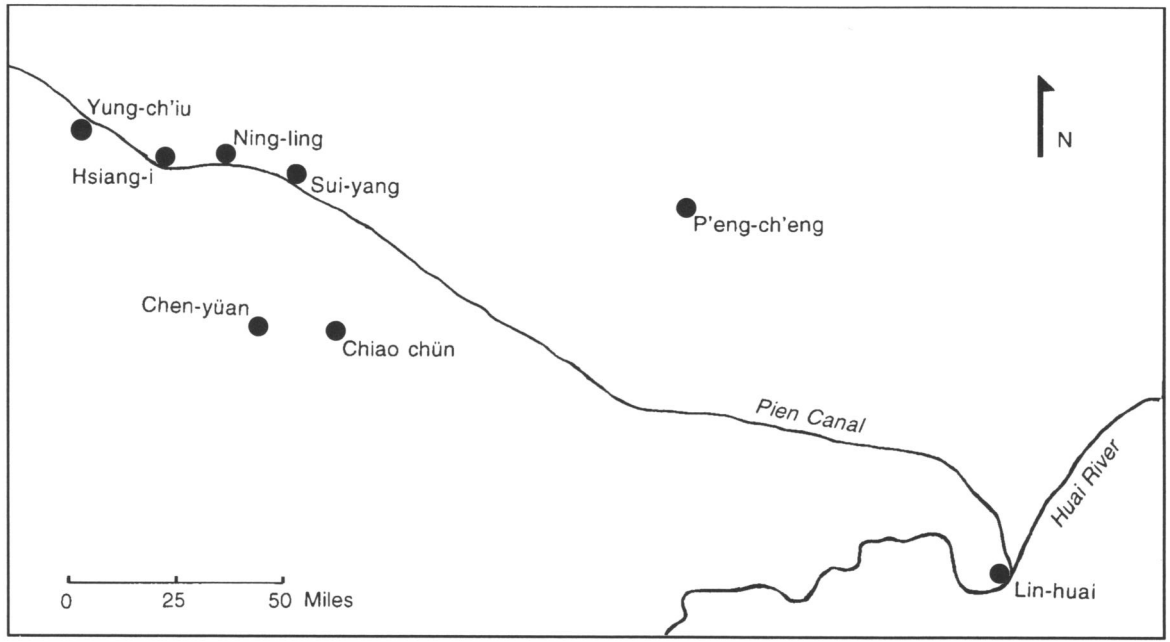
[49] The revolt of the government's Ching-yüan 涇原 army, passing through the capital en route to the front in Ho-pei in the 10th lunar month of Chien-chung 4 (783), forced the emperor to flee to Feng-t'ien 奉天 and confronted many of the capital officials with the same stark choice that their predecessors had faced in 756. See *TCTC* 228, pp. 7351–54.

officials such as Han Yü and Liu Tsung-yüan should indicate their acceptance of this model (and thereby advertise their own loyalty as well). That Chang Hsün, a man who had eaten human flesh, should be especially favored as a loyalist role model may be less immediately obvious, but Chang's case in fact served to drive home the single most essential point in the starkest possible terms.

In the last analysis, Chang Hsün was adopted as a loyalist icon not in spite of his cannibalism but because of it. In an age when scholar-officials might be forced to choose between their loyalty to the dynasty on the one hand and the safety of themselves and their loved ones on the other, the court and its supporters could not afford to allow any doubt as to which considerations should be primary and which secondary – to have done otherwise would have been to all but encourage the unravelling of T'ang authority. In the post-rebellion period, therefore, men in the service of the T'ang court felt a strong need to emphasize loyalty to the dynasty as the highest virtue and the greatest good. And the meritorious cannibal Chang Hsün served this agenda especially well in that his transgressions in the name of loyalty provided a particularly clear-cut object lesson in the proper prioritization of values.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CTS	*Chiu T'ang-shu* 舊唐書
CTW	*Ch'üan T'ang wen* 全唐文
HTS	*Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書
TCTC	*Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑒
TFYK	*Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜
THY	*T'ang Hui-yao* 唐會要
TTCLC	*T'ang ta chao ling chi* 唐大詔令集
TWT	*T'ang wen ts'ui* 唐文萃



Central Ho-nan in 757